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The Key to the Geneva Stalemate May Lie in the "Lost" Berkner Panel Recommendations, Page 3

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The Warning on the Synagogue Walls

Ever since the defeat of Hitler, the problem of creating a new Germany has been frustrated by focusing attention on small fry Nazis while the big offenders went free. The pattern is still with us in the current furore over the synagogue scrawlings in West Germany. The wrath of the law is coming down on a few screwball nobodies while attention is diverted from the extent to which Adenauer's new Germany is run by the same men who ran Hitler's. Hans Globke, the Chancellor's right hand man, wrote the official commentaries on Hitler's barbaric racial laws. Adenauer's Minister of the Interior, Gerhard Schroeder, the Reich's highest police official, is a former Hitler Storm Trooper. The Minister of Refugees, Theodor Oberlaender, was an SS captain assigned to those renegade Russian troops known as the Wlassow Army which was soon demoralized by the Nazi attitude toward Slavs as *untermenschen*. Accusations that he took part in a massacre of Polish Jews when Lwow was occupied in 1941 are now being sifted by a tribunal at the Hague. A third member of the Adenauer Cabinet, Minister of Justice Fritz Schaeffer, made a scandalously irresponsible attack on the program of restitution to victims of Nazism. This lags badly while Nazis get their pensions and a convicted war criminal like Dr. Schlegelberger, once Minister of Justice under Hitler, lives in comfort on a pension of more than $5,000 a year. The Chancellor himself has admitted that two out of three officials in the German Foreign Office served under Hitler. Here in Washington the Ambassador, Grewe, was a member of the lawyers' and university professors' group of the Nazi party.* The German Judiciary is packed with men who had no difficulty in serving the Nazis, and industrialists like Krupp and Flick, who built fortunes on Nazi plunder and slave labor, have been allowed to rebuild their empires.

Worse, If Anything, Than Nazis

It is not that these men retain their Nazi convictions. It is, if anything, worse. It is that this ruling strata of Germans are composed of men who have no real convictions other than a smug faith in their own cleverness. Had Hitler won, they would have been sitting pretty. Once Hitler fell, they managed to get themselves out from under. Then they were Nazis. Today they are "democrats." Tomorrow they will be whatever best advances their private careers and fortunes. Like Hitler before them, they curried favor with the West and won their absolution by harping on the Red menace. Like Hitler, they are quite capable of making their pact with Moscow when they feel that would best serve their interests. The example they set German youth is a cynical one, and the government they run manages, typically, to remain authoritarian in spirit though democratic in form. Dr. Adenauer, *der Alte,* is an irascible and high-handed practitioner of one-man rule who pays as little attention to his own party subordinates as he does to the opposition. This is hardly the way to train the Germans in self-government. It must not be forgotten that this republic has shallower roots than Weimar's; in 1918 the German people overthrew the Kaiser and made peace. There was no such revolution against Hitler; there were no German partisans fighting him as there were Italian partisans fighting Mussolini. The majority of the population was not only content but enthusiastic with the booty and the slave labor Hitler made available until he made the mistake of losing the war. Yet this is the unstable and unreliable State which has more and more become the main partner of American foreign policy since the war, vetoing every attempt at an East-West settlement until Germany with nuclear arms and West Europe's largest army can negotiate its own deal from a situation of strength with the Russians.

Like the writing on the wall in the Book of Daniel, the synagogue scrawlings in Germany and elsewhere are a prophetic warning. The paranoia Hitler exploited for German nationalism lives on underground and could cost mankind dearly again. The lesson is to stop before we take the fatal step of placing the new nuclear and thermonuclear weapons in the hands of those who served Hitler. In our tug-of-war with Russia we have been conjuring up and arming a monster. The men we have enlisted have already proven themselves deaf to human suffering and devoted only to self and national aggrandizement.

Confession

"Berlin, Jan. 12 (AP)—U.S. authorities have clamped a ban on information to the press about former Nazis. A spokesman for the U.S. mission said today that background material no longer can be furnished from the extensive files in the U.S. document center in Berlin. They include almost a complete record of the 10 million membership cards in the Nazi party. The U.S. State Department feels that the information might be embarrassing to the West German government."

—Washington Post and Times-Herald, Jan. 13.

*** A reporter who tried to confirm this with the German Embassy was referred, after a prolonged run-around, to a Jewish public relations firm in New York which finally admitted that Grewe had been denazified in 1947 and asked the correspondent if she'd like a free trip to Germany! The Germans have been quick to hire Jewish lawyers and press agents in this country as fronts. One Jewish lawyer here in Washington is both counsel for the Israeli Embassy and lobbyist (on a contingent fee basis) for German big business interests trying to recover property seized during the war.**

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Why the U. S. Power Trust Wishes Russia Would Keep Its Iron Curtain Shut Tight

Tour by Three Senators of Soviet Dams Sparks Public Power Fight Here

One U.S. industry which wishes that Russia would stop lifting the Iron Curtain is the private electric power industry. It fears a glimpse of Soviet progress in this field will stimulate public power in this country. Through Senator Wallace F. Bennett (*R. Utah*), power interests have opened an attack on a dramatic report made public Jan. 4 by three liberal Democratic Senators on the giant progress in the USSR (and China) in hydroelectric power development.* The three, Moss of Utah, Gruening of Alaska, and Muskie of Maine made a 12,500-mile trip through the Soviet Union last Fall.

Perhaps the most important story about the trip is only hinted at in the report. The Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs published a preliminary report at the end of 1957 on the work being done in the USSR and China in power development. In the middle of 1958 the Senate unanimously passed a resolution directing the Interior and Public Works Committees to make a joint study. Arrangements were made under the Soviet-American exchange program for a visit of inspection to dams and power plants in USSR in the Fall of 1958 by a delegation to include representatives of the two Senate committees, the Department of the Interior, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the Federal Power Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority and interested private organizations.

Interior Raised Objections

Interior Department, which has been under the influence of private power interests since the Republicans took over in 1953, began to throw up bureaucratic roadblocks. It objected that two representatives of public power interests would be included in the trip—Clyde Ellis of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association and Alex Radin of the American Public Power Association. While Interior held up the exchange, the Edison Electric Institute, general staff of the power trust, hastily sent two delegations, the first to European Russia, the second to Siberia, turning in two grudging reports. It took an angry series of letters from Senator Fulbright to the State Department before the way could finally be cleared for a Senate delegation to make the visit last Fall. The original plan, which would also have allowed TVA, Army Engineers and Federal Power Commission to have a look at Soviet projects, is still on the shelf.

The three Senators took with them, along with Ellis and Radin, two Truman Administration officials with wide experience in hydroelectric development, former U.S. Commissioner of Reclamation Michael W. Straus, and former Assistant Commissioner Harvey McPhail. Their 175-page report, ignored or buried in the press, gives a vivid picture of the enormous dams being erected in the Soviet world. "The Soviet power program," it concludes, "has produced the largest hydroelectric stations in the world, yielding the greatest project volumes of electricity from the largest generators connected by the longest transmission lines operating at highest voltage."

China Building the Biggest Dam of All

The visiting Senators saw Kuybyshev Dam which when completed in 1958 took from Grand Coulee the title of world's largest; Stalingrad Dam, already operating, which will be bigger than Kuybyshev when completed in 1961; and Bratsk Dam at Lake Baikal (with more water than all our Great Lakes combined) which will be bigger yet. They were told of the work begun on Krasnoyarsk which will surpass Bratsk and of an even more grandiose project underway in China.

*** Relative Water and Power Resource Development in the USSR and the USA, Report Pursuant to S.Res. 248, 85th Con. 2d Sess. U.S. Sen. Comm. on Interior and Public Works.**

Atom Better for War Than Peace

"Construction of the limited number of atom plants in this country has fallen behind schedule . . . The costs of the plants have soared . . . Even abroad, where power costs are generally higher, the pace of atomic power development has been discouragingly slow."

—New York Times economic survey Jan. 11.

"Also in the USSR as in the U.S., atomic power is not expected to supply significant amounts of power during the next few years. The USSR regards conventional sources, both thermal and hydro, as more economic and expeditious."

—Senate report on Soviet power projects.

There the Chinese Communists, utilizing plans first drawn up by John Savage of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation during World War II, are building a dam at the Ichang Gorge on the Yangtze River which "will be 12 to 20 times the size of Grand Coulee" when completed. The report hints at the need for a "similar" study of what is going on in China. It would be good if our first official exchange of visits with Peking were centered about so fundamental and constructive an activity as hydroelectric power.

The U.S. is still far ahead of the USSR. We have 142 million installed kilowatts compared with the Soviet's 53 million. But the Senate committee says the Russians could overtake us by 1975 unless we speed up or they slow down. The Senate report is discreetly silent on one point—the way in which dog-in-the-manger private power monopolies restrict development in the country. But Senator Bennett in an attack issued so swiftly he could hardly have had time to read the full report, says that "*reading between the lines* [our italics], it is clear that the committee staff believes expansion of our public power program is the key to our future in the power field."

Power Going to Waste at Grand Coulee

The problem is not simply one of expansion but of more fully using existing facilities. The report touched a sensitive point when it said the Soviet is extending its grid system until eventually it will cover the whole USSR. "The efficiency and economy of shifting peak power loads over a geographic area that embraces seven time zones from Leningrad to Vladivostok," the report says, "is apparent to any housewife whose lights have dimmed at dinner time when electrical use is heavy. The Soviet plan is in sharp contrast with the absence of planned or actual transcontinental transmission inter-ties in the U.S. and the lack even of local inter-ties in many parts of the U.S." These inter-ties enable surplus power quickly to be switched from one area to another to take advantage of the fact that peak usage varies from one section to another.

In this country private power companies have fought grid system expansion, fearing it would lead to greater public control and ownership. In fact a major battle is brewing at this very session over proposals to build transmission lines which would make surplus Bonneville power from Grand Coulee available in California's Central Valley.

The private companies are fighting a rearguard action to delay or control any such interchange. They blocked action at the last session, and Interior Department is helping them. The Senate report may figure in the coming debate. Bennett already attacks it for the "startling" recommendation that the Federal government "embark on a massive program to build transmission lines to interconnect Federal projects." Though the report speaks of interchanging private power as well, Bennett says, "Quite clearly the committee wishes to push us far down the road toward complete nationalization of power transmission facilities."

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Nine Months Later Still Little Action on Scientific Report to White House

Bureaucratic Fog Engulfs Hopeful Berkner Proposals on Test Detection

Public attention needs to be focused on the fate of the Berkner panel recommendations. These could be the key to ending the stalemate in the Geneva nuclear talks. Last March this scientific panel reported to the President that, despite the new findings in the Hardtack underground tests the previous fall, the detection system agreed upon at Geneva in 1958 could be restored to full efficiency by a three-year program of research and development in seismological recording methods. This would mean that the detection system already agreed upon with the Russians could identify 90 percent of the earthquakes which might be taken for nuclear explosions, cutting the task of on-site inspection down to manageable size.

Geneva System Try-Out Recommended

When a summary of the Berkner report was declassified and released last June 12, it was seen that it contained a proposed two year budget with specific sums alloted to specific research and development projects on new ideas for improved detection methods. The first year budget called for $22,825,000; the second, for $30,000,000. The proposed work was divided into two parts. A panel of scientists was to supervise a coordinated program of research by private and public bodies. In addition "a single well-organized central laboratory" was to plan and try out an inspection system along the lines agreed to at Geneva in 1958.

This whole program has been lost in a dense bureaucratic fog. Inquiries at State Department elicited no information beyond a suggestion that we inquire at the AEC. The AEC suggested we try the Defense Department and the Defense Department sent us back to the AEC. At Coast and Geodetic Survey we did learn that "months ago" it had received a questionnaire sent out to public and private agencies interested in seismological research asking what projects they would like to work on. No reply has come back.

Checking *Facts on File* we found that last August Dr. Herbert F. York of Defense Department research appointed Dr. Frank Press, Caltech seismologist, as head of a nine-man panel to prepare what was described as an expanded program of research to carry out the Berkner panel recommendations. Dr. Press by long distance referred inquiries to Dr. York's office and to the office of the President's scientific adviser. The latter said it had no power to implement the program and referred inquiries to Dr. York's office. There we learned that instead of being expanded the two-year $50,000,000 Berkner recommendations have been in process of revision downward—about $7,000,000 is planned and now (nine months since the Berkner panel first reported) about $1,000,000 in research has been contracted for.

This molasses pace and meager expenditure contrasts with the swift way the AEC and the Air Force have been carrying on a program of non-nuclear explosions in salt mines to try and prove (in accordance with the Teller "big hole" theory we discussed last week) that any detection system can be evaded. Both agencies want resumed testing, not agreement.

Too Much Negative Thinking

"Too much negative thinking in the AEC and the Pentagon was concentrated on proving that a control system would not work . . . Too little effort was expended on devising a practical detection system that would be politically and scientifically acceptable to all parties."

—Cong. Wm. H. Meyer (D. Vt.) to the President, Jan. 6, expressing concern over his decision to terminate the U.S. formal ban on testing.

Exclusive Disarmament Item

Now We're Studying the Study

"To a certain extent, the United States has been marking time in the recent [nuclear test] talks, waiting for completion of studies in Washington."

—New York Times Jan. 12 from Geneva.

Last July 29 the President appointed Charles A. Coolidge to make a definitive study of "comprehensive and partial measures of arms control and reduction" for the State and Defense Departments.

We heard that the Coolidge committee had already reported but that the Administration couldn't make up its mind whether to accept the recommendations. We telephoned State Department to check and were told (1) yes, the Coolidge committee reported a week ago and (2) no, there are no plans to make the report public and (3) that is all we can tell you.

Apparently we are now marking time waiting for completion of a study of the study.

91 Labor, Farm and Business Leaders View End of Arms Race Optimistically

Ninety-one leading Americans, including many business men and seven top level labor union executives have released a statement through the National Planning Association (those who want to see full text can obtain it from the NPA at 1606 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Wash., D. C.) on the topic, "Can the American Economy Adjust to Arms Reduction?" Their answer is that it can, that the effect would not be as drastic as often supposed but that planning should begin now for a change-over. The statement was given little attention by the press.

The NPA analysis believes a major portion of the resultant gap in spending could be made up from the field of social capital. It makes a five year projection of needs in the areas of education, highways and skyways, urban renewal and slum clearance, water supply, health and hospitals, and such other programs as air pollution. It figures 330 billion needed in the next five years but only 150 billion available under current programs.

The planning proposed is planning for the transition and not post-disarmament economic planning. The statement assumes that with advance planning and enlarged spending on social capital, "free enterprise" can do the job. The seven labor chiefs who signed were Beirne of the Communications Workers, Hartung of the Woodworkers, Hayes of the Machinists, Carroll of the Maintenance Way Employes, Rieve of the Textile Workers, Knight of the Oil Workers and Zander of State, County and Municipal Employes. J. A. Brownlow, president of the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Dept. and second echelon executives of the steel workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the ILGWU and the Electrical Workers also signed the statement.

James Patton, president, the National Farmers Union, and W. E. Hamilton, director of research, American Farm Bureau Federation, were signers. Among the others were figures as diverse as Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee, Stanley Marcus of the famous Dallas department store, Eric Johnston of the Motion Picture Producers, H. M. Horner, chairman of the board, United Aircraft, and lesser men from Pillsbury, Kraft Foods, Prudential Insurance, Bell & Howell and Vitro Corporation. Lauren Soth of the influential Des Moines Register & Tribune also signed.

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On the Ticker Tape from the Capitol: Why the Pentagon Loves Democrats

The GOP Is Never Against Inflation in An Election Year

It is as if democracy were intrinsically inflationary. Comes an election year and the Republicans are "spenders" like the Democrats—higher wages for steel workers (with tacit acquiescence in higher steel prices after the election), bigger expenditures on soon-to-be-obsolete but not yet really operational "first generation" missiles and of course another plea for higher interest rates, another form of special interest inflation which bankers represent as anti-inflationary. Benson still holds the fort against a similar Santa Claus operation for farmers, but it's a good guess the GOP will have to give on this front, too . . .

How the Pentagon must wish for a Democratic victory. A foretaste of what the Truman liberals and laborites would do if elected may be savored in the pamphlet "The Federal Budget and the General Welfare" issued by the Conference on Economic Progress which is guided by Leon Keyserling, Truman's most faithful economic adviser. Walter Reuther is the leading laborite in this group. This plea for more spending provides a useful survey of social welfare needs. But in projecting an increase of $23.3 billions in the Federal budget from fiscal 1960 to 1964, it allocates almost half the increase to the arms program which it would raise from $45.7 billion to $57 billion. No explanation is given for the $11.3 billion increase . . .

One Bright Spot in Ike's Message

The Republicans don't seem to be able even to hire a good ghost writer for the President. The annual message this year was as tepid and amateurish as usual; the one cheering note was Eisenhower's acceptance of Humphrey's proposal to repeal the Connally amendment denying the World Court jurisdiction over any matter we consider "domestic." Six governments have Connally amendment type reservations. Here the U.S. is in the august company of Liberia, Mexico, Pakistan, Sudan and South Africa. The Communist countries including Yugoslavia also have yet to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the court. Passage of a repealer by Congress is doubtful . . .

Lyndon Johnson craftily called his party conference before the rebels had time to organize. The results demonstrated that few Senate Democrats choose freedom. They prefer currying favor with the boss for committee assignments. The vote also showed how firm is the Southern alliance with the new Western and Alaskan liberals: from that area only Morse and Carroll (*Col*) voted with the insurgents. It is hard to believe Johnson seriously thinks he can get the party nomination but he may be able to dictate terms to the nominee. We believe the only Democrat who could win is Adlai Stevenson—it would be a pleasure once again to have in the White House a President of stature. Humphrey's game fight deserves support (he needs financial help badly) if only because the bigger the vote for Humphrey in the primaries the bigger the demonstration that peace and disarmament have political appeal . . .

The State Department is anxious about Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery's visit to Communist China in May, which he announced on returning to London Jan. 9 from India. Monty told reporters at the airport (London Sunday *Observer*, Jan. 10) he thought the West was "making a great mistake in thinking that the true government of China is in Formosa." . . . Few realize the bombing of Hiroshima is far from over. Delayed effects take new victims yearly. Edita Morris tells the story with compassion but without horror in her delicate novel, "The Flowers of Hiroshima" (Viking Press), well-received in England but given scant attention here . . .

Best Time to Get Lynched

That Justice Dept. Press release last spring about the Parker lynching was misleading when it denied there was any evidence the Federal kidnap law was violated. A UPI dispatch from Jackson, Miss., (*Wash. Post*, Jan. 9), says the FBI report turned over to the grand jury names one farmer witness who said Parker was taken across the river into Louisiana before being shot . . . *The Crusader*, a weekly published for the Negro community of Monroe, N. C., by Robert F. Williams (whom the NAACP suspended for being too militant) had a tart comment on the efforts being made to indict Parker's lynchers. "If you are going to be lynched," it advises, "try like *hell* to hold the mob off until an election year."

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